# WAR BRINGS NEW TASKS AND DUTIES

President Points Out Big Problems Which Confront Congress.

## MUST OPEN GATES OF TRADE

Ships to Carry Goods to Empty Markets is imperative Necessity-Our National Defense Lies in Our Citizenry-Need of Economy.

Washington, Dec. 8.—The new tasks and duties imposed upon the United States as a result of the European war occupied the greater portion of President Wilson's message to congress read today before a joint session of the two houses. The message follows: Gentlemen of the Congress:

The session upon which you are now entering will be the closing session of the Sixty-third congress, a congress, I venture to say, which will long be remembered for the great body of thoughtful and constructive work which it has done, in loyal response to the thought and needs of the country. I should like in this address to review the notable record and try to make adequate assessment of it; but no doubt we stand too near the work that has been done and are ourselves too much part of it to play the part of historians toward it. Moreover, our thoughts are now more of the future than of the past.

While we have worked at our tasks of peace the circumstances of the whole age have been altered by war. What we have done for our own land and our own people we did with the best that was in us, whether of character or of intelligence, with sober enthusiasm and a confidence in the principles upon which we were acting which sustained us at every step of the difficult undertaking; but it is done. It has passed from our hands, It is now an established part of the legislation of the country. Its usefulness, its effects, will disclose themselves in experience. What chiefly strikes us now, as we look about us during these closing days of a year which will be forever memorable in the history of the world, is that we face new tasks, have been facing them these six months, must face them in the months to come-face them without partisan feeling, like men who have forgotten everything but a common duty and the fact that we are representatives of a great people whose thought is not of us but of what America owes to herself and to all mankind in such circumstances as these upon which we look amazed and anxious.

#### Europe Will Need Our Help.

War has interrupted the means of trade not only but also the processes of production. In Europe it is destroy ing men and resources wholesale and upon a scale unprecedented and appalling. There is reason to fear that the time is near, if it be not already at hand, when several of the countries of Europe will find it difficult to do for their people what they have hitherto been always easily able to do, many essential and fundamental things. At any rate they will need our help and our manifold services as they have never needed them before; and we should be ready, more fit and ready than we have ever been.

It is of equal consequence that the nations whom Europe has usually supplied with innumerable articles of manufacture and commerce can now get only a small part of what they formerly imported and eagerly look to us to supply their all but empty markets. This is particularly true of our own neighbors, the states, great and smail, of Central and South America. Here are markets which we must supply, and we must find the means of action. The United States, this great people for whom we speak and act, should be ready, as never before, to serve Itself and to serve mankind; ready with its resources, its energies. Its forces of production, and its means of distribution.

#### We Need Ships.

It is a very practical matter, a matter of ways and means. We have the resources, but are we fully ready to use them? And if we can make ready what we have, have we the means at hand to distribute it? We are not fully ready; neither have we the means of distribution. We are willing, but we ure not fully able. We have the wish to serve and to serve greatly, generounly; but we are not propured as we should be. We are not ready to mobillion our resources at once. We are not prepared to use them immediately and at their best, without delay and without waste.

erred in the way in which we have stunted and hindered the development of our merchant marine. And now, when we need ships, we have not got

I have come to ask you to remedy and correct these mistakes and omissions. The time and the circumstances are extraordinary, and so must our efforts be also.

Use and Conservation.

Fortunately, two great measures, finely conceived, the one to unlock, with proper safeguards, the resources of the national domain, the other to encourage the use of the navigable water outside that domain for the generation of power, have already passed the house of representatives and are ready for immediate consideration and action by the senate. With the deepest earnestness I urge their prompt passage.

And there is another great piece of legislation which awaits and should receive the sanction of the senate:

I mean the bill which gives a larger measure of self-government to the people of the Philippines. I cannot believe that the senate will let this great measure of constructive justice await the action of another congress. Its passage would nobly crown the record of these two years of memorable la-

An Important Duty.

But I thin't that you will agree with me that this does not complete the toll of our duty. How are we to carry our goods to the empty markets of which I have spoken if we have not the certain and constant means of transportation upon which all profitable and useful commerce depends? And how are we to get the ships if we wait for the trade to develop without them?

The routes of trade must be actually opened-by many ships and regular sailings and moderate charges-before streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably through them.

Must Open Gates of Trade.

Hence the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session, but as yet passed by neither house. In may judgment such legislation is imperatively needed and can not wisely be postponed. The government must open these gates of trade, and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the government monopolizing the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable; and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the government ought to withdraw. I very earnestly hope that the congress will be of this opinion, and that both houses will adopt this exceedingly important bill.

The great subject of rural credits still remains to be dealt with, and it is a matter of deep regret that the difficulties of the subject have seemed to render it impossible to complete a bill for passage at this session. But it can not be perfected yet, and therefore there are no other constructive measures the necessity for which I will at this time call your attention to; but I would be negligent of a very manifest duty were I not to call the attention of the senate to the fact that the proposed convention for safety at sea awaits its confirmation and that the limit fixed in the convention itself for its acceptance is the last day of the present month.

Charting of Our Coasts.

There is another matter of which I must make special mention, if I am to discharge my conscience, lest it should escape your attention. It may seem a very small thing. It affects only a single item of appropriation. But many human lives and many great enterprises hang upon it.

It is the matter of making adequate provision for the survey and charting of our coasts.

It is immediately pressing and exigent in connection with the immense coast line of Alaska. This is a matter which, as I have said, seems small, but is in reality very great. Its Importance has only to be looked into to be appreciated.

Economy la Urged.

Before I close, may I say a few words upon two topics, much discussed out of doors, upon which it is highly important that our judgments should be clear, definite and steadfast. One of these is economy in government expenditures. The duty of economy is not debatable. It is manifest and important. In the appropriations we pass we are spending the money of the great people whose servants we are not our own. We are trustees and responsible stewards in the spending. The only thing debatable and upon which we should be careful to make our thought and purpose plear is the kind of sconomy demandod of us. I assert with the greatest confidence that the people of the United States are not jealous of the amount their government costs if they are curs that they get what they There is another sort of energy in us.

the money is being spent for objects of which they approve, and that it is being applied with good business sense and management.

The sort of economy we ought to practice may be effected, and ought to be effected, by a careful study and assessment of the tasks to be performed; and the money spent ought to be made to yield the best possible returns in efficiency and achievement. And, like good stewards, we should so account for every dollar of our appropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in

what way it was spent. It is not expenditure but extravagance that we should fear being criticized for; not paying for the legitimate enterprises and undertakings of a great government whose people command what it should do, but adding what will benefit only a few or pouring money out for what need not have been undertaken at all or might have been postponed or better and more economically conceived and carried out. The nation is not niggardly; it is very generous. It will chide us only if we forget for whom we pay money out and whose money it is we pay.

These are large and general standards, but they are not very difficult of application to particular cases,

The Natural Defense.

The other topic I shall take leave to mention goes deeper into the principles of our national life and policy. It is the subject of national defense. It cannot be discussed without first answering some very searching ques-

tions. It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? It is meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms? Of course we are not ready to do that; and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service

in times of peace. Allow me to speak with great plainness and directness upon this great matter and to avow my convictions with deep earnestness. I have tried to know what America is, what her people think, what they are, what they most cherish, and hold dear, I hope that some of their finer passions are in my own heart, some of the great conceptions and desires which gave birth to this government and which have made the voice of this people a voice of peace and hope and liberty among the peoples of the world, and that, speaking my own thoughts, I shall, at least in part, speak theirs also, however, faintly and inadequately, upon this vital matter.

Fear No Nation.

We are at peace with all the world. No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is reason for fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened. Dread of the power of any other nation we are incapable of. We are not jealous of rivalry in the fields of commerce or of any other peaceful achievement. We mean to live our lives as we will; but we mean also to let live. We are, indeed, a true friend to all the nations of the world, because we threaten none, covet the possessions of none, desire the overthrow of none. Our friendship can be accepted and is accepted without reservation, because it is offered in a spirit and for a purpose which no one need ever question or suspect. Therein lies our greatness. We are the champions of peace and of concord. And we should be very jealous of this distinction which we have sought to earn. Just now we should be particularly jealous of it, because it is our dearest present hope that this character and reputation may presently, in God's providence. bring us an opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world and reconciliation and a healing settlement of man a matter that has cooled and interrupted the friendship of nations. This is the time above all others when we should wish and resolve to keep our strength by self-possession, our influence by preserving our ancient principles of action.

Ready for Defense.

From the first we have had a clear and settled polloy with regard to military establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army. If asked, are you ready to defend yourselvas? We reply, most assuredly, to the utmost; and yet we shall not turn America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves In speak plainly we have grouply need and desire for the sullay, that It will know how to declare itself and states, and for mankind.

make itself effective should occasion arise. And especially when half the world is on fire we shall be careful to make our moral insurance against the spread of the conflagration very definite and certain and adequate in-

Let us remind ourselves, therefore, of the only thing we can do or will do. We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army. nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps. We should encourage such training and make it a means of discipline which our young men will learn to value. It is right that we should provide it not only, but that we should make it as attractive as possible, and so induce our young men to undergo it at such times as they can command a little freedom and can seek the physical development they need, for more health's sake, if for nothing more. Every means by which such things can be stimulated is legitimate, and such a method smacks of true American ideas. It is a right, too, that the National Guard of the states should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people or with the established policy of our government. And this, also, not because the time or occasion specially calls for such measures, but because it should be our constant policy to make these provisions for our national peace and safety.

More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity. More than this, proposed at this time, permit me to say, would mean merely that we had lost our self-possession, that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which he have nothing to do, whose causes cannot touch us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble.

Ships Our Natural Bulwarks.

A powerful navy we have always regarded as our proper and natural means of defense; and it has always been of defense that we have thought, never of aggression or of conquest. But who shall tell us now what sort of navy to build? We shall take leave to be strong upon the seas, in the future as in the past; and there will be no thought of offense or of provocation in that. Our ships are our natural bulwarks. When will the experts tell us just what kind we should construct-and when will they be right for ten years together, if the relative efficiency of craft for different kinds and uses continues to change as we have seen it change under our very eyes in these last few months?

But I turn away from the subject. It is not new. There is no new need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some amongst us are nervous and excited. We shall easily and sensibly agree such a policy of defense. The question has not changed its aspects because the times are not normal. Our policy will not be for an occasion. It will be conceived as a permanent and settled thing, which we will pursue at all seasons, without haste and after a fashion perfectly consistent with the peace of the world, the abiding friendship of states, and the unhampered freedom of all with whom we deal. Let there be no misconception. The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense. We are not unmindful of the great responsibility resting upon us. We shall learn and profit by the lesson of every experience and every new circumstances; and what is needed will be adequately done.

Great Duties of Peace. I close, as I began, by reminding

you of the great tasks and duties of peace which challenge our best powers and invite us to build what will last, the tasks to which we can address ourselves now and at all times the free-hearted zest and with all the finest gifts of constructive wisdom we possess. To develop our life and our resources; to supply our own people. and the people of the world as their need arises, from the abundant plenty of our fields and our marts of trade; to enrich the commerce of our own states and of the world with the products of our mines, our farms, and our factories, with the creations of our thought and the truits of our character-this is wha, will hold our attention and our enthusiasm steadily, now and in the years to come, as we strive to show in our life as a nation what liberty and the inspirations of an emencipated spirit may do for mon and for societies, for individuals, for



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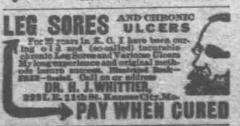
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